

NEW LORD OF LANGLEY, CIA CHIEF CHANGED, POLARIS AND THE SECRET SERVICE, A BUDGET OF FOUR BILLION

[Note: The following is a full translation of an article by Csaba Kis which appeared in the 16 May 1965 issue of Magyarország, Budapest, pages 4 and 5.]

CPYRGHT

Once or twice I have travelled the full length of the high-speed highway, the George Washington Parkway, which extends along the Virginia bank of the Potomac River. It leads to one of the favorite resorts of the Washingtonians, the falls of the Potomac. The road also goes through a small settlement, Langley. It is a characteristic suburb, with red brick houses in the middle of carefully cared for green yards, hardly 20 minutes from the center of the American capital. The maps separate one part of Langley from the rest. This is the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. The building cannot be seen from the road, it is hidden in the middle of a small forest -- if one can use such an expression for so large a building. A high fence surrounds the area and signs announce that strangers are forbidden to enter. Even looking in is practically forbidden because the place was selected by the designers so that undesirable strangers could not approach it easily. There are no houses in the immediate vicinity and when an enterprise wanted to build modern dwellings here several years ago, official organs quickly bought the lots from them. (There was one exception, Dr Sterr, a Virginia physician, whose country home remains in the vicinity; but the CIA retained the right of having a say in its possible sale or rental.)

The director's office is on the seventh floor and according to the testimony of initiated persons the view of the surrounding forest from its great windows is beautiful. The office recently received a new owner in the person of a retired admiral of Texas origin. President Johnson named William F. Raborn, recently retired admiral of the United States Navy, to take the place of the departing John McCone.

Few presidential decisions have aroused such lively displeasure in recent times as the appointment of Raborn. It was well-known that McCone, whose position as director of CIA was already his third high government office (he was previously head of the equally important Atomic Energy Commission), wanted to retire to private life. McCone is a very rich businessman and he could make a much greater income in business life than in government service where the salary ceiling hardly exceeds 20,000 dollars per year. In addition to financial considerations, many took stock not only of the material gains but also of the almost immeasurable influence which the office of the director of CIA signifies. As is the custom, Washington echoed with names and even the name of General Taylor, the political soldier who left the chief-of-staff's office to become a "troop officer" as ambassador to Saigon, was mentioned. But the prophecies, as so frequently in recent weeks, were in error and the office went to an outsider, an admiral who is completely unknown to many.

Various voices sounded in the chorus of the general outcry. There were those who regarded the appointment of Raborn as simply another step in the process of "Texasization." (The respected journal

CPYRGHT

Look devoted a special issue to the process of "Texasization".) It is a fact that, especially since the beginning of the year, a number of Texas political personalities have come into various high government offices and to a certain extent this is understandable because the President can work much more comfortably with previously well-known and permanent colleagues and this is also a recognition of the work they did in the interest of Johnson. (In his time, President Kennedy brought to Washington the "Irish Mafia" and the Massachusetts "eggheads".) Raborn really is of Texas origin but he did not participate in the political life of the state and he did not express such activity even after his retirement. Much more important in his appointment was that from the beginning he was among the enthusiastic supporters of President Johnson and if he does not have much experience in intelligence, or to speak more crudely in the area of spying, still this task is not completely unknown to him.

Another group of those crying out protested against the appointment of Raborn because with his appointment a branch of industry which has increasingly dangerous influence has conquered the leadership of the CIA. McCone came into the government as a representative of "traditional branches of industry" -- the steel industry and ship construction -- and at one time he was state secretary for the Navy. Raborn, the professional naval officer, personifies, on the other hand, the industry of the space-age, the manufacturing of aircraft and rockets. His most important recent military assignment was the post of one of the directors for the development of the Polaris rockets. After his retirement, obviously not by chance, he was invited to be a

vice-chairman of the directorate of the Aerojet enterprise which had a key role in the construction of the Polaris and in other rocket programs also.

Drew Pearson, the famous American journalist who according to some knows everything about everyone in Washington, summarized what should be known about Aerojet in connection with the appointment. He says that according to data of a congressional investigation this enterprise has no fewer than 66 retired generals, admirals, and staff officers in high positions. The present president of Aerojet, Dan Kimball, was state secretary for the Navy and then minister of the Navy. In the course of the above-mentioned congressional investigation, 26 high-ranking officers who are now members of the Aerojet Directorate or other leading organs of Aerojet, admitted that during their active duty they had aided the enterprise in obtaining munitions contracts. And since they know well the corridors of the Pentagon their contacts obviously exist today also.

Even more shocking matters came to light. For example, at that time the American Navy built a building worth five million dollars for its own purposes at the Aerojet site but since it would have been difficult to make good their property rights within the site, the buildings later were simply transferred to the property of the enterprise. It is even more odd that the Navy built a dining room out of its own budget for Aerojet at a cost of almost a quarter million dollars. This dining room is also the property of the enterprise and it brings in a net profit of more than 70,000 dollars per year. The costs, however, are covered by the money from the taxpayers.

Aerojet is actually one of the interests of a powerful trust, General Tire and Rubber. Here it should be known that in addition to other enterprises it has a virtual television empire. (It has two television transmitters in New York, one in Los Angeles, one in Boston, one in Memphis, and several elsewhere; it has several radio transmitters, and it recently bought a 48 percent interest in one of the significant daily papers, the Schenectady Union Star.) One can imagine how these transmitting stations, in the possession of the munitions industry, try to influence public opinion. This permits us to get a picture of how the war business is interdependent with propaganda. After all this, even a person with little imagination could see what sort of line Admiral Raborn will represent at the head of CIA. Pearson also points out that a number of times the CIA has played its own dangerous games independent of the official political line of the government. This game well suited certain circles of the munition industry. If the unification of the munitions industry and the CIA now increases further, this danger increases further.

Those who see in Raborn a representative of Aerojet, and are sensitive to his appointment for this reason, are primarily men of the "competition" who would like to see a man of some other large interest in this important post.

However, the professionals, the professional spies and spy chiefs, also appear to be dissatisfied. They complain that the admiral is an outsider and according to them it would have been better if the new chief had come from within, all the more so because since Allen Dulles the CIA has not had a professional director. If it had to be a military

personality, many would have preferred to see the previous deputy, Gen. Carter, who is only 33 years old but who has spent enough time at the intelligence trade to have acquired adequate experience. Now, Carter must leave his post because according to the regulations a soldier can be deputy director of CIA only if a civilian heads it. If, as is now the case, a soldier takes over the guidance of intelligence then a civilian must be appointed deputy.

In any case, the work of Raborn will be greatly facilitated by the fact that the newly appointed deputy director is an old professional, Richard Helms, who used to be a journalist and a member of United Press; during the second world war he served as an intelligence officer and thus joined one of the predecessors of CIA, the Office of Strategic Services (which was the organ of military intelligence in the United States in the early 1940's). Since the formation of the CIA, Helm has continually progressed to higher and higher offices and was most recently deputy director entrusted with the preparation of plans. Many regard him as the man-of-the-future and as the future chief of the agency all the more so because in the opinion of experts such a post can be filled truly well only by one who has at least two decades experience. (This opinion was quoted by David Lawrence, editor-in-chief of the journal US News, in an article criticizing the appointment of Raborn. Lawrence, who stands far to the right of the Johnson government, points up the problem dramatically: "Such an appointment could undermine the morale of this important government office and it is on this that success or failure in the cold war may depend.")

However, probably the most populous group is that the members of which are unhappy about the appointment of Raborn simply because they see in it a further advance of military control by a group of generals and admirals. The general opinion in any case is that in recent months the influence of the Pentagon in American political guidance has fundamentally increased. For example, the Washington Post in a lead article reported in connection with the appointment of Raborn that today the Ministry of War receives practically anything it wants from Congress -- its budget (in contrast to that of others) is not cut, the hands of its friends stretch far, and Minister of War McNamara is without doubt the most influential member of the government. Is it rational in such circumstances, the paper asks, to appoint a soldier to head CIA? And this is also the opinion of very many sober thinking American politicians.

It is certain that the approval of the appointment will not run into trouble in Congress because the friends of the Pentagon are so numerous. (According to the American Constitution, the appointment must be approved by the appropriate committee of Congress.) The degree to which this military influence is effective, according to the example usually cited in Washington, is shown by the Vietnam conflict. Several months ago, only one or two generals dreamed of expanding the Vietnam war; but today, this is the official and finally executed American policy. The President even takes McNamara to his provincial ranch for weekends. (It is true that more than one member of the government has spent an official weekend at the LBJ ranch but the Minister of War left there with about 130 million dollars intended for

expanding the Vietnam action and went straight to Honolulu where he could communicate this news to Ambassador Taylor and an entire array of admirals and generals.)

It would be difficult to judge who among the dissenters happened upon the best explanation of the appointment. The past weeks have proven that the President, who carries out personal changes in the government without any great fanfare, favors surprising solutions and appoints his new immediate associates not on the basis of Washington prophecies but rather upon the basis of his own ideas. For example, very few discovered beforehand the names of the new financial, commercial, or justice ministers and there was even an example where the person himself did not know in advance of the President's selection. (This has happened most recently in the case of a former Republican politician whom the President chose as an ambassador.) Nevertheless, it is a fact that a soldier has not stood at the head of CIA since the departure of General Bedell Smith and the appointment of Allen Dulles twelve years ago and this alone might justify those who speak about increasing Pentagon influence.

In any case, Raborn will have gigantic power and there can be no doubt that the CIA will receive a greater role not only in the preparation of government decisions but also in the "secret war" which is almost completely<sup>independent</sup> from it. The "Invisible Government", as the book by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, one of the greatest American best-sellers last year, named the Central Intelligence Agency, has received a completely free hand in the carrying out of its operations. Reports prepared by it are the basis for more than one decision made by the



President and the National Security Council. Its activity greatly influences both daily policy and preparation of the long-range plans of the American government. Although, according to the law which created it, the CIA is subordinate to the National Security Council and its task is merely control of intelligence, the processing and evaluating of data on the basis of guiding principles set by the Council, the law itself guarantees the independence of the Intelligence Center. It states that the agency can carry out "other activities" not defined in the law on the basis of guiding principles by the Council. Many things fit into this, not only intelligence but outright subversive activity also.

Fairly much has become general knowledge in recent years concerning the work of the CIA. The "master spy" himself, the one-time director of the agency, Allen Dulles has betrayed several things in his book about the craft of espionage and the intelligence agency guided by him. One adventure organized by the CIA, the failure of the Cuban invasion attempt, proved to be a sowing which reaped a storm. Many in the United States have given the agency full responsibility for the defeat at the Bay of Pigs. The above-mentioned book by Wise and Ross provides interesting details for those who are attracted by spy stories but it also betrays several elements about which few have knowledge otherwise.

It appears from the book that at least eight to ten thousand men work in the headquarters of the invisible government in Langley on the preparation and execution of the most varied spy tasks and other "secret operations"; it is not possible to establish the number of CIA

CPYRGHT

agents working in various other posts because they work under the most varied cover organs. Many estimate this network at a hundred thousand inside and outside the country.

The agency has a special laboratory which deals with the designing of spy equipment including various miniaturized weapons, special explosives, invisible ink, and other equipment. Data arriving from the gigantic network are processed and stored with the aid of electronic machines. (In addition to its "professional" library, the agency has a considerable collection of spy novels, obviously for the amusement of the employees.) The budget takes care of all this amply. (According to estimates the budget comes to four billion dollars per year. Important data such as the number of agents are not available and the budget of the "invisible government" is hidden behind the most various components of the official budget.)

The ever-increasing role and independence of the CIA has disturbed the American public for some time. More than one senatorial investigation has been aimed at bringing the activities of the agency under increased congressional control, thus far, however, without much success. The fact that President Johnson has now appointed his own man at the head of the all-powerful intelligence organ is witness to the fact that he wants to solidify his own control over CIA at least. (According to Wise and Ross, Johnson hardly knew about this activity when he was vice president although he was certainly a vice president initiated into most of the secrets of the United States. Immediately after he took office, McGeorge Bundy, chief expert on

security and military questions in the White House, and McCone, the director at that time, informed the President about the CIA. Allegedly, this information shocked even Johnson himself.)

Admiral Raborn and his secret army -- with or without control -- will certainly continue their activity. What sort of lord the new lord will be will soon be known.